

## Women and Democracy

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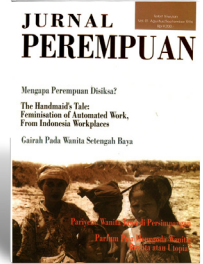
The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019  
*Andi Misbahul Pratiwi*

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This JP edition is published by Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan with the support from the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment (MAMPU). MAMPU program is a joint initiative between the government of Australia and the government of Indonesia that aim to improve access of poor women in Indonesia to public services and other government programs in order to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment. Opinion in the articles solely belong to each of the authors and do not represent the views of the government of Indonesia and the government of Australia.

## Women and Democracy

The 1998 post reformation democratization process in Indonesia has opened up access for women to participate in politics and policy-making processes. The numbers of women sitting in the legislative body, especially in the House of Representative (DPR) have increased from 9% in the 1999 general election into 17% in the 2014 general election. Nevertheless, the percentage is still below the set 30% quotas; a minimum percentage that is expected to create change of direction to the political policy.

Women's movements in electoral democracy still experience various challenges. Women parliament members (MPs) also face political challenges from the political institutions due to the electoral system and internal policies of the existing political parties. Inside DPR, the voices of women legislators were kept under the control of political fraction and masculine politics. Public pressure from women's movement outside parliament still have important meaning to support and to guard women's political agenda in the parliament.

Indonesian post 1998 democracy has grown into a high political cost of electoral democracy. This is demonstrated by the high cost for establishing a political party and the expensive cost of legislative candidacy and political campaign. Thus, political parties are filled and controlled by those who have power and money to fund the high cost electoral politics. Party's coalition has been built as a pave way for parties' leaders or parties' administrators to gain power and positions (either as minister, governor, regent, or mayor) who could be used as cash machine for the next election. Shared ideology, values, or political vision are not used as the basis for setting up a coalition. This fluid, opportunistic, and vulnerable kind of coalition has created difficulty for voters in demanding for accountability from each of the parties or their leaders. In this context, the electoral politics is controlled particular power that is known as oligarchy.

Consequently, the feature of the current DPR is filled by people who have economic elites' backgrounds (business tycoons) and have connections with the political elites. Government institutions and policies under this situation

are prone to the oligarch's interests. Political corruptions have spread and thus became a predominant problem in Indonesia. General election was supposed to offer diverse options among the competing ideas. Instead, the options have decreased, differences among political parties become blurred, and voters cannot demand accountability from politicians upon their actions.

Explaining democracy only as a process that taking place inside the parliament would reduce its meaning. Democracy is not only about election, it encompasses freedom of expression, opinion, association, and protection to minorities, and also to include social and economic aspects, not just politics. Some people have argued that democratization in Indonesia is facing a deadlock. The phenomenon can be seen in the application of the Electronic Information and Transaction Law (UU ITE). UU ITE has trapped Baiq Nuril, a woman survivor of sexual violence who was charged guilty and punished instead of being given protection.

Indonesia democracy tend to be Jakarta and Java centered, therefore local aspirations are often overlooked. Meanwhile, the challenges and the fight for democracy also happen at local level. At regional level we can many cases where communities fight for their social rights have been prone to criminalization, such as Kendeng women in Centarl Java, Eva Bande – an activist in Central Sulawesi. Regional autonomy as the output of Reformasi, has been celebrated only for its direct voting. It has not been recognized in term of its benefits for people's welfare, protection and promotion of human rights, right to development, and promotion of women's rights.

Articles published in the current *Jurnal Perempuan* edition show the need to intervene political party as the electoral democracy's institution in order to realize democracy that is just and respect gender equality. On the other hand, the challenges that are faced by women's movement will be more complex, particularly because of the emerging women conservative candidates who reject feminist agenda. For that reason, increasing critical consciousness and at the same time developing collective power for feminist's agenda are important in the process of consolidating democracy. **(Anita Dhewy)**



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Anna Margret (Cakra Wikara Indonesia & Political Sciences Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia)

**Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda**

DDC: 305  
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 83-93, 20 ref

This article explores the complexity of the relationship between democracy and feminism in both theory and practice. For a long time, feminist theorists have put forward criticism of democratic studies, which emphasize the importance of transforming political institutions and addressing the measure of the goodness of democracy that is considered to be generally accepted. As a result, the voice and interests of women are considered merely complementary and not a priority. Feminist agendas—marked by the formulation of interests aimed at challenging patriarchy in a variety of manifestations—are increasingly scarce in the work of fighting for democracy in Indonesia, especially in the participation of women's electoral politics. While non-electoral participation is more indicative of the presence of a feminist agenda, the challenge lies in the lack of linkages with electoral politics. The achievements of democracy over the past 20 years show the lack of contribution of democracy to the struggle that the women's movement formulated with the breath of feminism. This article highlights the increasingly eroded feminist agenda in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. It is time for the consolidation of democracy to borrow the logic of feminism, which rejects the public/private; personal/political dichotomy; in the electoral/non-electoral political struggle.

Keywords: feminist agenda, electoral, non-electoral, democracy

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Dewi Komalasari (Jurnal Perempuan)

**The Interwoven of Interests in Political Economy and Political Behavior of Women Members of Parliament**

DDC: 305  
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 95-106, 2 tables, 19 ref.

Representation of women's interests through women Members of Parliament (MPs) is achieved if there is a connection between women MPs and their constituents. In order to be able to establish cooperation between these two parties, a developed understanding of MPs behavior is required. This article discusses women MPs various political-economic relationships. These relationships begin when women MPs are nominated as legislative candidates. The relationships result in various interests and pressures that women MPs must respond to. By understanding the various interests and pressures that women MPs face, civil society actors can design action plans that trigger positive responses from MPs and minimize potential risks.

Keywords: parliamentary political economy, elections, clientalism, patronage, women candidates, women in parliament

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Atnike Nova Sigiro (Jurnal Perempuan/ Paramadina University)

**Strengthening Substantive Representation of Women through the Engagement Model of the Women's Movement with the DPR and DPRD in Indonesia**

DDC: 305  
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 107-114, 20 ref.

Although it has not yet reached an ideal composition, the adoption of a 30% quota of women in elections in Indonesia has increased the number of women in parliament, both at the central level (House of Representative/DPR) and at the regional level (Regional House of Representatives/DPRD). However, the issue of women's representation in parliament is not only a matter of representation based on sex, but also of substantive representation, where women's political agenda can be voiced. One of the concepts developed by feminist thinking is the concept of critical actors. This article seeks to explain how women's organizations and parliamentarians are critical actors that encourage women's involvement with parliament. This article explains how the involvement between women's organizations and parliament can strengthen the substantive representation of women in both the DPR and the DPRD. The article is developed based on studies on engagement models of MAMPU's partners with the DPR and DPRD.

Keywords: women's politics, political representation, parliamentary women, women's representation

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**Ensuring the Women's Political Agenda: A Study of Women Members of Parliament in Nine Regencies/Cities in Eastern Indonesia**

DDC: 305  
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 115-127, 7 tables, 9 ref.

Representation of women in the legislature is important. The presence of women members of parliament (MPs) does not only balance the number of parliamentarians (gender balance), but also encourages women's issues to be a priority, so that various gender sensitive policies are born. This study focuses on women legislator in nine regencies/cities of Eastern Indonesia, namely: Maros Regency, Bone Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, Parepare City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Belu Regency and Ambon City. This study looks at women legislator's portraits in nine research areas, obstacles in implementing main tasks and functions as women legislator and relations with various related groups. This study applies a phased mixed method design that focuses on qualitative studies. Data collection is done through document review, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research found that in order to guarantee the struggle for women's political agenda, capacity building was needed for Parliamentary Members of Women in Eastern Indonesia.

Keywords: women members of parliament, women's representation, gender-sensitive policies

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Fathimah Fildzah Izzati (Pusat Penelitian Politik - Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia)

**The Problem of "Women's Work" and the Idea of Work Democratization for the Liberating Empowerment of Women**

DDC: 305  
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 129-136, 40 ref.

Women never make choices about their work democratically. In patriarchal society, "women's work" is constructed as work that is in the area of social reproduction and is "natural" for women. Consequently, women are increasingly in a vulnerable position in the labor market. In addition, women also face obstacles to being actively involved in

various democratic spaces such as unions and women's movements, and wider social movements because they bear a double workload that is life-consuming. However, various women's empowerment programs launched by a number of development institutions to overcome the problems faced by women turned out to be far from women's interests. Empowerment, also known as "liberal empowerment", actually depoliticized and atomized women. Feminist scholars also call for the importance of realizing "liberating empowerment". Related to that, this paper sees that the process of democratization of work on women's work is an effort that can be done to pave the way for women's liberation.

Keywords: women's work, democratization of work, empowerment, liberals, liberation

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Andi Misbahul Pratiwi (Jurnal Perempuan)

**The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019**

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 137-148, 1 table, 27 ref.

Political parties play an important role as a gateway to women's representation. In political parties the entire battle to win seats in parliament occurs. Therefore, the policies, practices and politics in the political party determine the face of women's representation

in parliament. This study focuses on policy, practice and politics in political parties in the context of encouraging women's representation in the regency / city-level legislative council in Indonesia. This research explores the strategy, experience and challenges faced by women legislative members in the regency / city-level legislative council for the 2014-2019 period of the four parties that passed to parliament in the 2014 elections, namely PDIP, Golkar Gerindra and one Islamic party, PPP. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document review of articles of association/ bylaws (AD/ART) of political parties. The results showed that 1) AD / ART of a number of political parties has adopted a 30% quota affirmative policy for party management structures and the formation of women's party wing organizations; 2) The practices of affirmative action policies in the process of recruitment, candidacy and political campaigns have not yet fully adopted the ideology of gender mainstreaming; knowledge, programs and decisions of political parties as well as competition between legislative candidates in competing for votes are still gender biased, thus detrimental to women's political agenda; 3) Parliamentary women experience psychological violence and intimidation in pushing the political agenda of women in parliament - rooted in patriarchal ideology, while the women's wing have not standing for women's agenda.

Keywords: women in parliament, women's political agenda, regency/ city-level legislative council, women and political parties, substantive representation

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

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